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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine the issues concerning school-by-school resource allocation processes today and their relation to concerns about equity, educational needs, and the development of more effective educational strategies for all pupils. A description of the special case of the District of Columbia follows a brief summary of important findings on intradistrict disparities from research of the last 15 years. The court-mandated adaptation of Washington to the issue of intradistrict equity is compared to the means of resolving this dilemma adopted by comparability provisions of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). The author's conclusion that intradistrict equity, by prevailing definitions, has largely been achieved, rests not only on the findings in the report, but on other factors pushing for intradistrict equity, such as collective bargaining agreements, decentralization, and recent cutbacks which have urged many urban districts to reassess their means of allocating shrinking resources. (Author/JF)

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THE EXTENT OF INTRA-DISTRICT INEQUALITIES:

ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

by

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Introduction

Almost 15 years ago, educational policy makers first confronted the concept of inequality as applied to the allocation of resources among individual schools within large school districts. A study of Detroit's schools[1] vividly and pointedly raised the issue. Studies of other cities in the 1960's further documented school-by-school expenditure patterns in which a direct relationship existed between the socio-economic status of the pupils served by the school and the resources devoted to their educations.

Findings that pupils from wealthier homes tended to receive greater benefits from the public school system contributed substantially to the inclusion of comparability requirements in the federal legislation creating Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. "Comparability" requires that local districts equalize the resources from local and state funds which they allocate to elementary schools before Title I funds for the disadvantaged can be added. In response to numerous charges of abuse of comparability requirements, the Congress in 1970 tightened those requirements; it also required local school districts that receive Title I funds and have more than one elementary school to produce an annual report demonstrating their compliance with the regulations. In 1971 a federal court ruled that the Washington, D. C., schools must equalize per pupil expenditures for teacher salaries by an even stricter criterion than Title I comparability.

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1. Patricia Cayo Sexton, Education and Income (New York: Viking Press, 1961).

The general outcome of this focus on school-by-school resource allocations is that in large measure, equity has been achieved. Nevertheless, considerable dissatisfaction still exists among many citizens who are most concerned with the disadvantaged, as well as among school district administrators who complain about the heavy management burden of comparability reporting. The purpose of this paper is to examine the issues concerning school-by-school resource allocation processes today and their relation to concerns about equity, educational needs and the development of more effective educational strategies for all pupils.

A description of the special case of the District of Columbia follows a brief summary of important findings on intradistrict disparities from research of the last 15 years. The court-mandated adaptation of Washington to the issue of intradistrict equity is compared to the means of resolving this thorny dilemma adopted by Title I's comparability provisions. The conclusion of this author that intradistrict equity, by prevailing definitions, has largely been achieved, rests not only on these findings but on other factors pushing for intradistrict equity: collective bargaining agreements, decentralization, and recent cutbacks which have urged many urban districts to reassess their means of allocating shrinking resources.

The District of Columbia's schools' and ESEA Title I's contrasting approaches to defining what is to be equalized, and how, illumine the logical next step to be embarked upon: how to develop a planning model that will allow citizens and policymakers to judge more finely the

achievement of equity, school by school, while giving each school a stronger voice in determining its educational needs and how its resources will be deployed to meet them.

Research Background of School-by-School Disparities

Patricia Cayo Sexton's 1961 study of the Detroit schools was the first intensive, scholarly effort to examine the relationship between resource allocations and pupil characteristics.[2] Detroit schools serving youngsters from lower income categories had more uncertified teachers, poorer facilities and a higher average class size. Programs for the gifted and extra-curricular activities were located almost exclusively in upper income schools.[3]

In the middle of the 1960's a research team directed by Jesse Burkhead at Syracuse University found a negative relationship between per pupil expenditures and both racial composition and the socio-economic characteristics of student bodies in Atlanta. The study found a mixed relationship in Chicago.[4] Burkhead attributed some of the disparity between schools serving high income and low income pupils in Atlanta to the fact that

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2. Sexton, Education and Income. Prior to the Sexton study, the Public Education Association in New York City revealed in 1955 that elementary schools with predominantly Black and Puerto Rican enrollments had lower per pupil expenditures than white schools. That finding is reported in Public Education Association, "The Status of the Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in New York" (New York: 1955, Mimeographed).

3. Ibid., pp. 253-254.

4. Jesse Burkhead, Input and Output in Large City High Schools. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967).

low income schools tended to be substantially larger than others, which contributed to large class size.[5]

Perhaps the first impact of ESEA Title I on school-by-school allocation patterns was observed by Harold M. Baron's study of Chicago. Baron observed that the preferential treatment for high status, predominantly white schools was somewhat modified between 1961 and 1963 through the local and general state funds. By 1966, the availability of Title I funds narrowed the gap, but additional funds were not further redistributed. More important, "the range of differences in appropriation of regular funds based on race and status was still so great that ESEA money had the effect of only compensating for the Board of Education's own discrimination."[6]

In 1970 and 1971, researchers at the Educational Finance and Governance Center Center (EFGC) of the Syracuse University Research Corporation were commissioned by The Fleischmann Commission to examine resource allocation patterns in Syracuse, Rochester, and one of the decentralized districts in New York City. In that study we compared per pupil expenditures and staffing patterns according to source of funding (state/local, categorical state, ESEA Title I, or other federal funds) to the proportion of disadvantaged students as measured by third grade reading test scores.

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5. Ibid., pp. 72-73.

6. Harold M. Baron, "Race and Status in School Spending: Chicago 1961-1969," The Journal of Human Resources, 6, No. 1 (1970), p. 20. Like Burkhead, Baron noted a "U" shaped curve in the distribution pattern with very high SES and very low SES schools receiving the highest appropriations and the schools in the middle receiving the least.

The distribution pattern observed in these three cities was only mildly compensatory; only in Syracuse did schools serving the most disadvantaged populations receive as much as 15 percent more per pupil than schools serving the least disadvantaged. Compensatory efforts were entirely produced by ESEA Title I and the state program for the disadvantaged. Schools with the lowest proportion of disadvantaged pupils consistently received more dollars per pupil from the local tax levy and general state funds than did schools with higher proportions of such pupils. In short, though considerably more comparability appeared than Sexton had observed a decade earlier, when the criterion was total per pupil expenditures, ESEA Title I exerted more an equalizing than an additive impact.[7] By looking at teacher characteristics our study also demonstrated why disparities exist when total per pupil expenditures are used as the criterion. In schools which have many pupils with low reading scores, teachers are consistently younger and less experienced; fewer have tenure than in schools with higher levels of student achievement.

Though the EFGC study employed data for 1969-1970, four years after the start of ESEA Title I, local school districts were just beginning the required filing of comparability reports. Thus we faced the same problem that confronted other efforts to tease out school-by-school resource allocations: during the 1960's few school districts recorded

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7. Ralph Andrew and Robert J. Goettel, "School-by-School Expenditures and Educational Need in Three Urban Districts" in Joel S. Berke, Alan K. Campbell and Robert J. Goettel, Financing Equal Educational Opportunity: Alternatives for State Finance, (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1972). Two tables from that study are included in Appendix A.

budget and expenditure data school-by-school. While this is a major aggravation for the researcher, who must assemble his information from many different and often conflicting sources, the more critical fact is that school district administrators, boards of education and citizens have little information on school-by-school allocations by which to assess current policy or develop new policies. Certainly one major contribution of ESEA Title I is the requirement that such data be developed and made available to citizen groups.

An approach to analyzing school-by-school disparities similar to EFGC's study quoted above was employed in 1972 by staff of the Governor's Citizens' Committee on Education in Florida. Expenditures for all instructional and direct student support functions in 35 elementary schools in a county school district were compared to the percentage of first, second, and third grade students scoring below the 24th national percentile score in arithmetic and vocabulary tests. Considerable variation in expenditures per pupil from state and local sources was found among the 35 schools. However, no clear-cut relationship with achievement test scores was found until the schools were grouped according to size. When schools were grouped by enrollments, those with the least low scoring pupils in grades one through three spent the most money. The addition of Title I funds as well as free lunch monies improved the position of the poorly performing schools, but not very much. As we found in the study of Syracuse, Rochester and New York City,

> The overriding factor in expenditures per pupil is the age and experience of the teachers since salary levels are tied to those two personnel characteristics. The exceptions to the trend...have either very young or very old staffs. However, the general rule is that the dollar-value of resources going into a school increases as the performance of the students in that school on standardized tests improves.[8]

The Special Case of Washington, D. C.

In 1971, the Federal Court System was asked to redress alleged school-by-school disparities in the Washington, D. C. public schools in Hobson v. Hansen.[9] In a 1967 decree in the same case the court had found that children attending school west of Rock Creek Park were treated more favorably in the allocation of the quality of school buildings, the undercrowding of those buildings, the quality of their facility and textbooks, and in the curriculum and special programs they were offered.[10] In short, measuring these inequalities in dollar terms, the court held that children west of Rock Creek Park received higher per pupil expenditures. The court put it this way:

> The minimum the Constitution will require and guarantee is that...the schools be run on the basis of real equality, at least until any inequalities are adequately justified.[11]

In 1971 the plaintiffs returned to court, arguing that the District's system of allocating resources to schools still discriminated against

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8. Governor's Citizens' Committee on Education, Improving Education in Florida (Tallahassee: 1973) pp. 176-182. Computer plots from this report are included in Appendix B.

9. Hobson v. Hansen, 327 F. SUPP.

10. 269 F. SUPP.

11. Ibid., p. 496.

those schools that were not West of the Park. The court found that the average per pupil expenditure in elementary schools west of the park were more than 26 percent greater than the rest of the city and 40 percent greater than schools in the southeast section of Washington. Moreover, these percentages were increasing every year.

The court held that lower class size and more experienced teachers contributed to the quality of a child's education. Thus the white, wealthy students West of the Park were offered a better education despite the 1967 injunction against further racial and economic discrimination in operating the school system.

To correct the unconstitutionality of this inequitable expenditure, the court adopted the major goal of the plaintiff's proposed order. Beginning in the 1971-1972 school year, the judge required that per pupil school expenditures for elementary school classroom and special subject teacher salaries and benefits paid from the regular District of Columbia budget should not deviate by more than 5 percent from the mean per pupil expenditure district-wide. The court also observed that, given adequate advance justification, the 5 percent limitation could be exceeded for such services as compensatory education and special education for the mentally retarded or physically handicapped and perhaps for certain variations in per pupil expenditures which could not be justified solely by economies or diseconomies of scale. In short, educational needs might constitute sufficient reason to vary the rigid court-mandated per pupil expenditure pattern[12]

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12. 327 F. SUPP. at page 864. For this brief summary of Hobson v. Hansen the author relied heavily upon a working draft, Hobson v. Hansen II, prepared by staff at the National Office of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Washington, D. C.

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TABLE 1

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WEST OF THE PARK ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND ANACOSTIA ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Fiscal 1970

	West of Park	Anacostia	West of Park Advantage
Pupil-teacher ratio	21.4/1	24.6/1	14.9% smaller
Average teacher cost	$11,734	$10,046	16.8% greater
Teacher expenditures per pupil	$552	$413	33.7% greater

Fiscal 1971

Pupil-teacher ratio	18.1/1	22.6/1	24.9% smaller
Average teacher cost	$12,118	$10,775	12.5% greater
Teacher expenditures per pupil	$669	$478	40.0% greater

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WEST OF THE PARK ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLS IN THE REMAINDER OF THE CITY (excluding special schools)

Fiscal 1970

	West of Park	Remainder of City	West of Park Advantage
Pupil-teacher ratio	21.4/1	22.9/1	7.0% smaller
Average teacher cost	$11,734	$10,167	15.4% greater
Teacher expenditures per pupil	$552	$444	24.3% greater

Fiscal 1971

Pupil-teacher ratio	18.1/1	20.9/1	15.5% smaller
Average teacher cost	$12,118	$11,048	9.7% greater
Teacher expenditures per pupil	$669	$528	26.7% greater

The Washington, D. C. schools did equalize according to Judge WRight's decree. The result was that Washington probably became the most equalized school district in the nation for those expenditure categories covered by the decree. Moreover, in addition to special education teachers, counselors, librarians, supervisors, administrators, teacher aides, secretaries, supplies, equipment and textbooks funded from the general budget were excluded from the decree. Furthermore, by including the full value of teacher experience as well as education -- longevity -- the measure of the resources to be equalized was very much in line with the approach taken over the previous decade in each of the intra-district studies beginning with Sexton's analysis of Detroit.

Impact of the Title I Comparability Requirement

Certainly no other factor has approached the comparability requirement in its power to achieve greater equity in school-by-school resource allocations. This has occurred for several reasons. First, Title I has had an enormous symbolic influence on educators and educational policy makers: it has generated nationwide concern for the previously neglected disadvantaged child. Both district level and school level instructional policy have reflected this concern. Second, while some school districts -- for example, Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati and Rochester -- had begun to develop school-by-school accounting procedures before Title I, the comparability requirements created an educational as well as a management incentive for other districts to institute these procedures. Indeed, the ultimate management objective is now to generate a comparability report by computer. Third, with heightened interest in comparability

or equalization and the routine availability of better data about schools,[13] the comparability requirement has begun to create an environment in which monitoring of local school district decisions can be effectively conducted by local citizens. The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law has significantly helped local citizens and parents unfamiliar with school bureaucracies or complex reports to keep abreast of equalization efforts and to influence their boards of education. Fourth, the national office of the Lawyers' Committee continues to press the federal government to enforce comparability requirements. The nationwide information which must be collected in order to exert that kind of influence has certainly strengthened their impact.[14] Perhaps the most striking aspect of the information developed by the Lawyers' Committee is its evidence that most school districts are in fact complying with comparability provisions in most respects.

Today, therefore, considerably more equalization exists in the resources available among the schools of large school districts than was the case five, ten, or fifteen years ago. Less clear is the exact nature of that equalization. When one examines the many factors to be equalized, he finds less than unanimous agreement about which resources should be equalized and which should be additive. Perhaps more important, the public seems increasingly concerned about the concept of equalization itself. People are beginning to recognize that, beyond making fairer the existing system, meaningful educational oppor-

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[13] Here, use of the word "routine" more clearly reflects the federal government's intent than it mirrors the ease with which citizens can actually obtain comparability reports in some school districts.

[14] See A Manual for Enforcing Title I Comparability (Lawyers'Committee, 1973) and "Title I Comparability One Year Later" by Daniel Badger and R.Stephen Browning, also of the Committee.

tunity can be achieved only when individual schools and classrooms hold both the resources and the decisional flexibility to meet pupils' extra needs and special interests.

Other Factors Influencing the Movement Toward Equity

In addition to Title I comparability requirements, other factors contribute to greater fairness in allocating resources to schools today. The first of these is collective bargaining agreements. The typical school district allocates teachers to schools on the basis of the number of pupils at each grade level. A number of teacher bargaining units have won provisions in their agreements which require the school district to transfer students or to hire additional teachers if the number of pupils in an individual classroom exceeds, say, thirty-five.

Second, the advent of decentralization in a number of large cities, notably New York and Detroit, has created extra motivation for using a smaller unit of analysis as the basis of resource allocations. In the case of New York, concern with a fair distribution of resources among the thirty-two decentralized school districts has been more intense than concern with how resources are divided among schools. In the early years of decentralization, the formula by which resources for elementary and junior high schools would be distributed among the districts received greatest attention.[15]

The third major factor contributing to heightened interest in equity within school districts is the cutbacks faced by many urban school districts lately. When the instructional staff available to schools must be reduced,

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[15] For a comprehensive discussion of the issue in New York City, see Carter F. Bayles and Julein Phillips, "Fairness by Formula," The Urban Review, November 1971.

there is growing pressure to find a fair way to adjust resources. Complicating the finding of an equitable way to spread the burden of cuts is the influence of declining enrollments. Virtually every large urban school district in the United States is experiencing enrollment declines that are more severe than declines in the surrounding suburban districts. However, many districts embrace schools with widely different enrollment situations: some have growing enrollments, others are holding stable, still others are falling rapidly. The effect of enrollment declines upon staffing patterns and, more critically, upon teacher salaries, has urged a search for better means of allocating resources among schools themselves.

The Major Issue: What Is to Be Equalized?

The problems created by shifting enrollment patterns among schools of a single district are among several administrative and philosophical concerns that compete in developing an equalization or comparability design. Should the equalized resource be staff or should it be dollars? If it is staff, which staff? Classroom teachers, all professionals; should this include teacher aides? Or, if it is dollars that are to be equalized, dollars for which staff? Should longevity and benefits be included in the calculations? If dollars are to be equalized, why not include all dollars spent at one school site rather than merely the money spent on the instructional program? Don't facilities affect the learning environment? Finally, how will the equalization plan respond to differences in educational need that can be considered the responsibility of the local school district?

Typically, the choices made in answering such questions reflect the philosophies of those who have greatest influence at the time a decision is

made, though plans are also modified by the administrative concerns of school district officials. While in recent years the educational philosophies underlying various approaches to school-by-school resource allocations have been well aired, their operational differences -- the impact of different approaches upon distribution patterns and educational programs -- has undergone little systematic analysis.

The contrasting requirements of Judge Wright's Hobson decree and ESEA Title I comparability provisions as currently applied illustrate the kinds of issues that arise. Recalling that Title I regulations apply to nearly every school district in the nation, while Judge Wright's decree applies only to Washington, D.C., the two approaches show further important variations.

Table 2 summarizes the differences between Title I and Hobson v. Hansen. The first important difference in requirements is that, in the District of Columbia, all individual elementary schools are included, while in Title I those schools which receive Title I funds must vary not more than plus or minus five per cent from the average of all non-Title I schools. Second, Title I requires comparability for all instructional staff serving a school except for secretaries and special education teachers. The Washington schools, on the other hand, are required to equalize only classroom and special subject teachers. Not only are special education teachers excluded, but also librarians, counselors, psychologists, social workers, administrators, supervisors, and teacher aides. The rationale for excluding librarians and counselors is that only one is usually assigned to each school. Special education teachers and other support personnel are excluded because their function in the school is to meet individual needs of selected pupils. Under Hobson, little consideration was given to including teacher aides, probably because few aides in

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF ESEA TITLE I AND HOBSON V. HANSEN CRITERIA

	ESEA Title I	Hobson v. Hansen
1. Schools included	Title I schools compared to average of all non-Title I schools	All elementary schools
2. Teachers included	All teachers	Classroom special subject (art, music, PE, foreign language, resource)
Teachers excluded	Special education	Special education Librarians Counselors Psychologists Social workers
3. Other professional staff included	All	None
4. Non-certified staff included	Teacher aides Lunchroom aides	None
5. Salary costs included	Graduate credit Fringe benefits	Longevity Graduate credit Fringe benefits
Salary costs excluded	Longevity	None
6. Other costs included	Supplies, equipment, textbooks	None
7. Funds included	Local tax levy General state aid Categorical state aid	Regular district only (comparable to general purpose state aid and local levy)
8. Standard for comparability or equalization	No more than a 5 percent variation from the weighted average of non-Title I schools for: a. Teacher salaries per pupil (excluding longevity) b. Staff per pupil c. Other institutional costs per pupil	No more than a 5 percent variation from District mean in per pupil expenditures for teacher salaries and benefits

Washington are paid out of local resources.

Regarding salary costs, the major difference between Title I and the Wright decree centers on the question of longevity. During the Congressional debate over comparability, Title I interest groups sought to include that portion of a teacher's salary that reflects his experience, but education interest groups representing school boards and administrators succeeded in excluding longevity from the computations in Title I. On the other hand, Judge Wright contended that experience provided one index of quality; since the Washington schools rewarded more experienced teachers with higher salaries, longevity should be included in the computation. The difference between the Wright decree and Title I requirements is essentially the difference between the intuitive belief that teacher experience must be associated with teacher quality, and management's belief that to include a teacher's entire salary in the computation would create enormous administrative difficulty.

These concerns should be tested in two ways. First, one might examine over time the kinds of problems that arise when longevity is included. Second, before deciding whether to include it, longevity simulations could be performed to indicate the varying distributional impacts of inclusion or exclusion. Staff of the Syracuse University Research Corporation have been involved in both activities over the past few weeks as part of the project we have undertaken on behalf of the National Institute of Education, with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the D.C. Citizens for Better Public Education.

While our analysis is not yet finished, some tentative conclusions are in order. We know, for example, that when the Wright decree was first implemented in the 1971-1972 school year, large numbers of teachers were shifted

among schools in order to bring each school into compliance.[16] In the two school years since then, fewer shifts have occurred. Nevertheless, it is clear that the inclusion of longevity in itself creates more annual disruption than does a Title I type criterion that excludes longevity.

Of particular importance is the differential impact of longevity upon individual schools. For example, schools with declining enrollments and above-average staff experience levels have been forced to reduce their staff of special subject teachers, due to the high cost of their regular classroom teachers. In effect, those schools with lower-priced regular classroom teachers, particularly schools with stable or rising enrollments, are enjoying more comprehensive special subject programs than other District schools. Given a less than average experience level for classroom staff, therefore, the answer seems not to hire more supervisory staff to help these teachers, but rather to provide additional special-interest activities.[17]

Though we have yet to simulate the different impacts of including or excluding longevity (or perhaps including up to five or six years of experience), some clues suggest that the actual distributional impact will not dramatically differ either way. Our clue here is that, for the first time since 1971-72, Washington has filed a Title I comparability report. Having

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[16]The District Board of Education decided that shifts of classroom teachers would be minimized. Instead, special subject teachers would be shuffled wherever possible in order to bring schools into compliance. A number of itinerant music, art, physical education, foreign language,and resource teachers had assignments changed. One major citizen complaint about implementation of the decree was that numerous schools lost "favorite" special subject teachers and programs.

[17]For 1971-74 years, individual building principals gained more flexibility in determining what kinds of staff they wanted. A number of schools did choose to staff with reading and math specialists and, to some extent, with science and language arts resource teachers in order to assist classroom teachers.

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already achieved compliance with the Wright decree, which included longevity for the majority of the staff working in eac' school, only five elementary schools were out of compliance with the Title I requirements. We suspect that, since credit for graduate work is included in comparability, the distribution of graduate degrees is probably highly associated with experience levels. Thus little operational distinction can be made between including or excluding longevity in computations. These questions will certainly be answered in the next few weeks, for the District may well return to court and ask Judge Wright to permit longevity to be excluded in their preparations for compliance with his 1971 decree.

Turning to other differences between Hobson and Title I comparability, Title I states three criteria for compliance compared to Hobson's single criterion of per pupil expenditures for teacher salaries. The three criteria are: (1) teacher salaries per pupil (excluding longevity), (2) staff per pupil, and (3) other instructional costs per pupil. A school district must have each of its Title I schools comply on all three factors in order fully to comply with the requirements. On the other hand, compliance reports under the Wright decree require that staff ratios be provided to the court each year, although they are not a direct factor in determining compliance. There is a practical reason for not including other instructional costs as a factor. At the time of Judge Wright's 1971 decision, the District did not know what was being spent in each elementary school on supplies, equipment, and textbooks. Indeed, we suspect that they still lack accurate data on these costs, though such data are included in the District's Title I comparability report.

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The Title I and Hobson approaches to equalization also treat the question of educational needs differently. Having required that all staff except secretaries be included for purposes of comparability, the Title I regulations also include categorical state funds such as programs for the educationally disadvantaged in comparability calculations. This has the effect of viewing state level programs that have Title I's same purpose and intent as general aid. In Washington, this is certainly not the case. For example, Impact Funds are used for the disadvantaged, but these monies are excluded from the equalization calculation. More important, in Washington the District can freely assign to schools, as needed, administrative staff, counselors, social workers, psychologists, and community coordinators, since these staff fall outside equalization requirements. One of the most interesting innovations now happening in Washington involves the special education teacher assigned to each school. That position is called a "school-based teacher," whose purpose is to work with classroom teachers and, where appropriate, directly with children to help those with mild handicaps so that they can be mainstreamed into regular programs rather than assigned to self-contained classrooms.[18] In short, the school-based program is designed to deal directly with different educational needs among pupils. In schools where it appears to be working most effectively, the school-based teacher belongs to a team that includes the counselor, the itinerant psychologist,

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18. The development of the school-based program is a direct outcome of a second court decision in Washington, Mills v. Board of Education, in which the District was required to provide special education to pupils who need such services.

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and remedial reading and math specialists. If the Division of Special Education receives even part of its budget request for additional staff in the 1974-1975 school year, school-based teachers will be assigned in a way that more closely matches the demands of principals for those services than does this year's arbitrary teacher-per-school allocation.

In sum, the differences between the Wright decree and Title I comparability requirements illustrate the contrasting concerns that surround the difficult-to-define goals of fairness and equal opportunity. But, by any definition, serious dissatisfaction with the outcomes of either approach remains. The numbers say that equity has been attained. Why is the public still unsatisfied? The easy response to that question argues that citizens and parents don't trust the numbers. How can a school district that can't keep track of its own staff or can't manage to get supplies distributed to schools, one might ask, collect and provide honest data about resources that have supposedly been allocated to those schools? In some districts considerable legitimacy may attach to that concern.

But the larger, more critical concern asks a different question: Now that we have achieved equalization, how does it affect the instructional program?

So We Are Equalized, What Now?

The focus on the operational versus the symbolic value of equalization should be highly significant to many people today. Indeed, the type of equalization found in both the Title I comparability requirements and the Skelley Wright Decree represents in each case a definite,

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restrictive and centralized model of budgetary decision-making. While the goals of both equalization efforts will continue to be important, educators and concerned citizens are now more interested in finding ways in which the variegated needs and interests of pupils can be met. We must now progress from a simplistic equity model of the allocation process to a planning model, a model that accepts the premise of comparability equalization that the school is the crucial unit in delivering educational services, while recognizing that schools must also have great flexibility in determining which services suit which children. School site models of the allocation process are designed to give individual schools greater latitude in determining how to use the resources available to each school. We are working toward budget models in which fewer decisions are made centrally -- by the Board of Education or the Central Administration -- and more by principals, staff, and parents.

Such planning models take one of two general forms. In the first, schools are given a per pupil allocation like that of the Wright decree and then told that they can determine how all or part of that allocation will be deployed. In determining their staffing for 1973-1974, building principals in Washington, D. C., for the first time could indicate their priorities for special subject teachers. As long as they stayed within their budget and teachers were available, principals could decide what staff they wanted in their school. A similar though more extensive plan is proposed for the school districts in Florida. Perhaps the most notable and comprehensive example is in the Alum Rock District of

California, where an experimental voucher plan is completing its second year. Other school districts in California, as well as in Dayton and Toledo, Ohio, are seriously experimenting with school site budgeting.

The second form of the school site model ignores dollars completely and allocates instead full-time equivalent staff positions. Perhaps the best current example of this approach is in the Newport Mesa District, south of Los Angeles. In Newport Mesa each school receives an allocation of full-time equivalent positions that can be divided at staff discretion among teachers, specialists, supervisors, or teacher aides. (Secretaries are worth .5 FTE's and teacher aides .35, for example.)

Such attempts at giving schools greater flexibility and greater responsibility in the budgetary decision-making process hold great promise and deserve close observation.[19] They raise very interesting questions. For example, what instructional programs must schools provide and which can they decide are not needed by all pupils? On what basis are overall allocations to schools made? In other words, what criteria are used by the central authority to make central decisions? Must parents and teachers be built into the process, or is that strategy simply encouraged? How are teacher transfers handled and what provisions are made for shifting teachers out of the school? These and numerous other questions deserve serious consideration. However, it appears that, in at least some school districts, educators are prepared to move beyond

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[19] The Childhood and Governance Project at Berkeley is conducting a study of districts undertaking school site budgeting in California. See "School Site Budgeting at Four California School Districts," a paper presented in this panel by James Guthrie.

simplistic, often conflicting conceptions of equity in school-by-school budgeting and accounting procedures.

If such approaches are possible in large urban school districts as well as small or medium-sized suburban districts, the promise of school site budgeting will indeed be great. While some contend that nothing less should be expected of school district officials than the progress they have recently made, more reasoned observers of educational change and local school districts will be prompted to agree that, in many large districts, things have come a long way since Detroit circa 1960.

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APPENDIX A

School-by-School Expenditures in New York City (Decentralized District No. 2), Rochester and Syracuse, 1969-1970.

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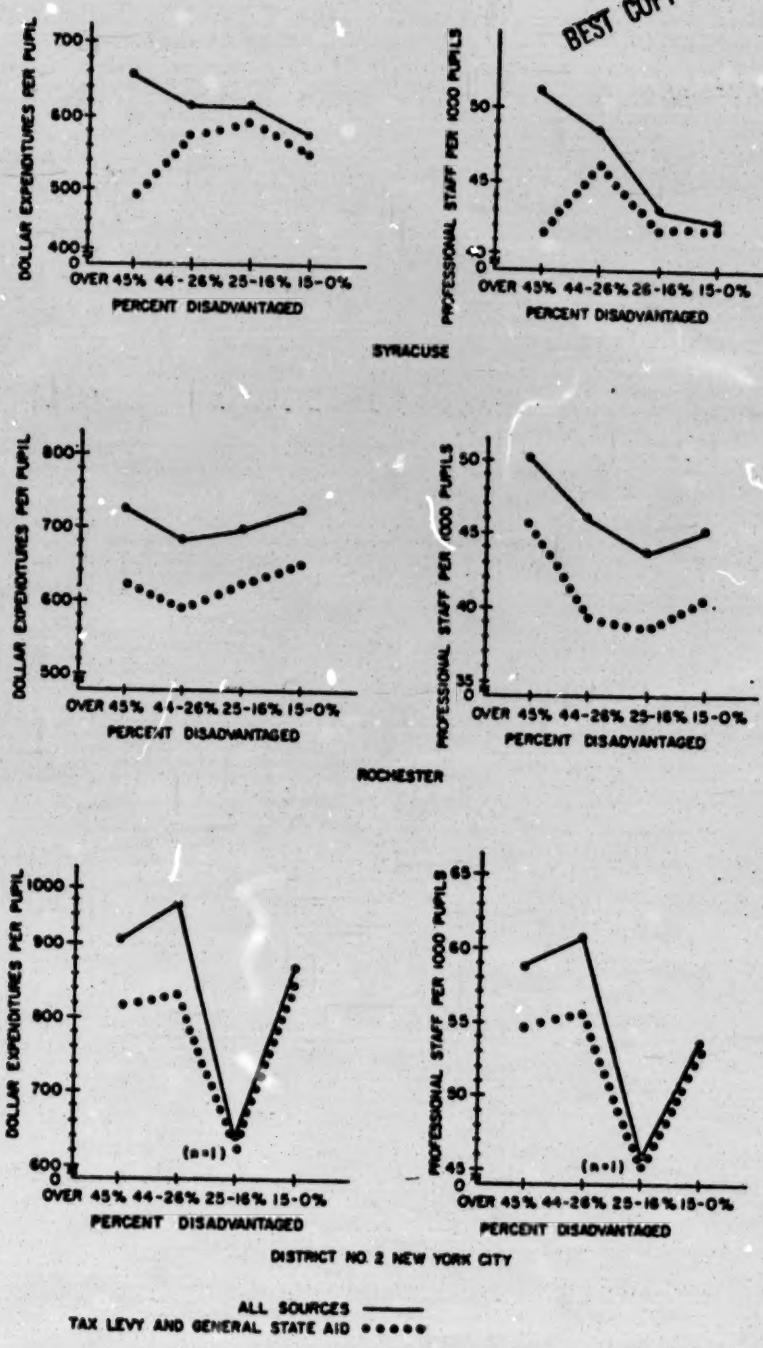

Expenditures Per Pupil and Professional Staff Per 1,000 Pupils in Elementary Schools by Percent Educationally Disadvantaged: Relationship of Tax Levy and General State Aid to Total All Sources for Three Districts, 1969-70 (mean values)

Table A-2

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Average Per Pupil Expenditures and Staff Per 1,000 Pupils
by Source of Funding, 1969-70

District	Percent Reading Disadvantagement							
	Above 45%		44%-26%		25%-16%		15%-0%	
Per Pupil $	All sources	Tax levy and G.S.A	All sources	Tax levy and G.S.A.	All sources	Tax levy and G.S.A.	All sources	Tax levy and G.S.A.
New York City District 2	$ 909	$ 817	$ 959	$ 835	$ 629	$ 622	$ 865	$ 858
Rochester	723	626	683	591	699	625	722	657
Syracuse	656	491	617	575	616	595	575	553
Staff/1,000 Pupil								
New York City District 2	58.8	54.5	60.8	55.5	45.6	45	53.5	53
Rochester	50	45.6	46	39.3	43.7	38.5	45.1	40.4
Syracuse	51	41.2	48.4	46	43	41.9	42.4	41.7

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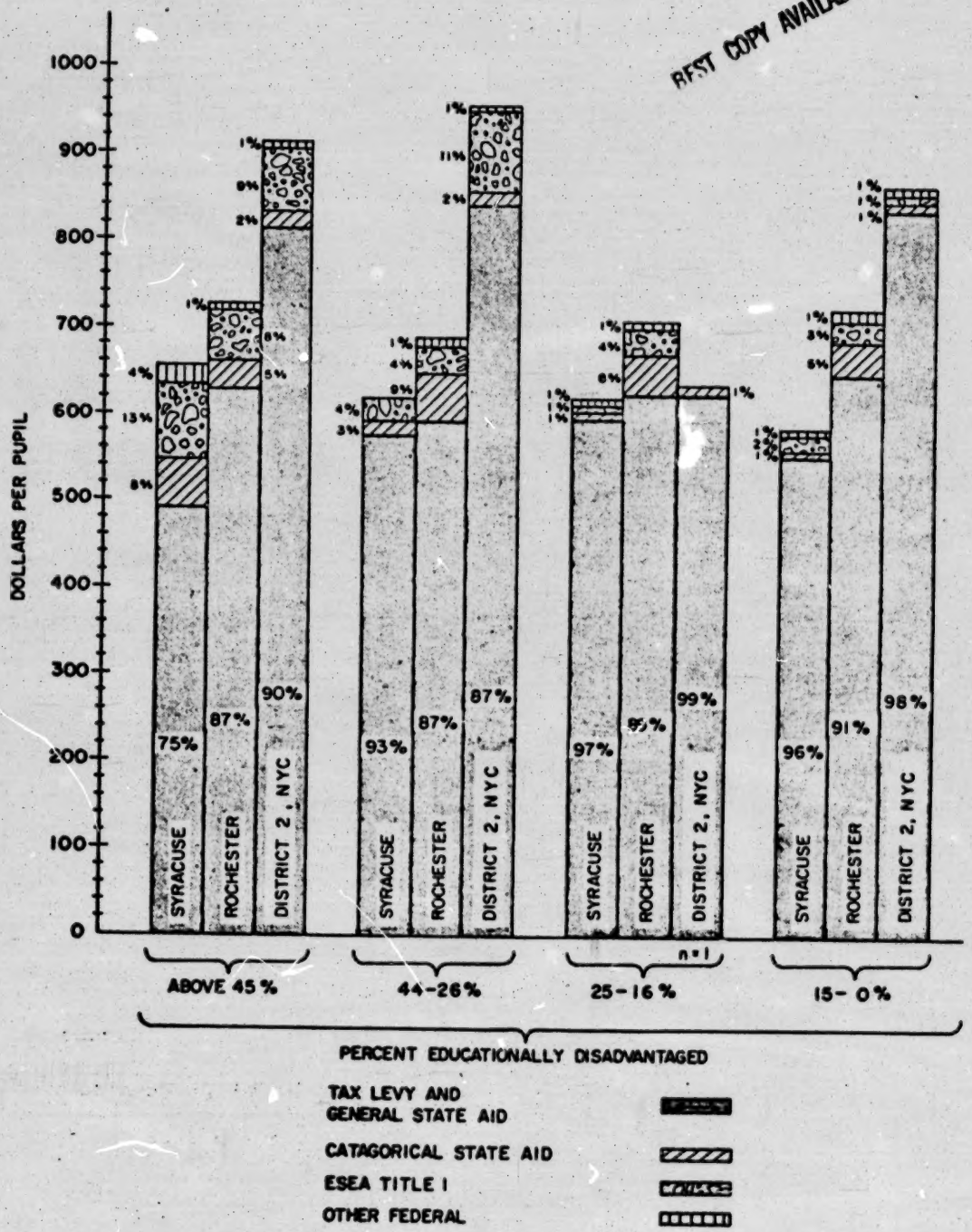

Expenditures Per Pupil in Elementary Schools in Three Districts: by Percent Educationally Disadvantaged and Sources of Funding, 1969-70 (mean values)

APPENDIX B

School-by-School Expenditures in a Large District in Florida.

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CHART B-1

Expenditures per Pupil in ADM (1-6) Compared to Percent of Students in the School Scoring Below the National 24th Percentile Score - All Schools (35)

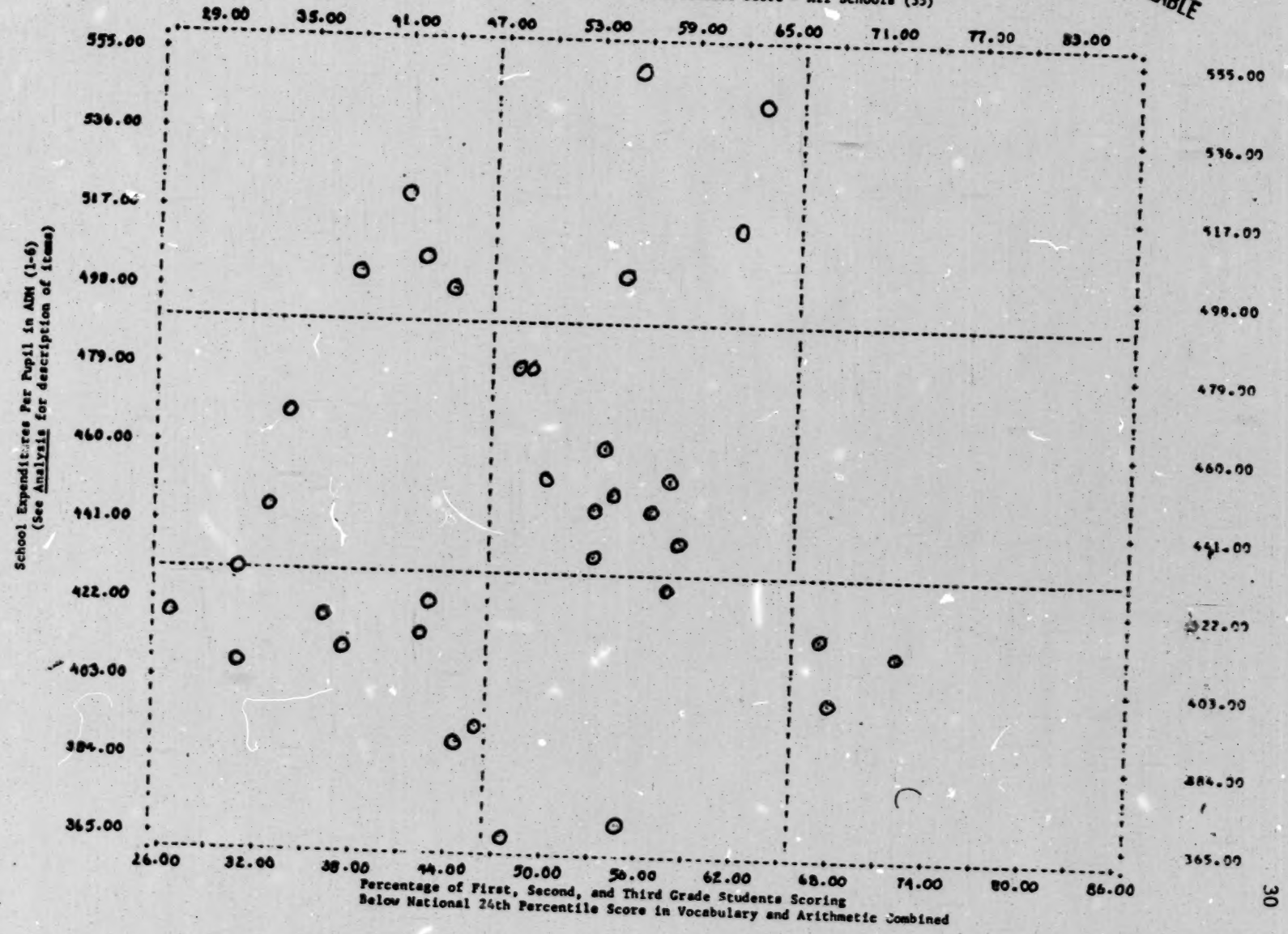

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CHART B-2

Expenditures per Pupil in ADM (1-6) Compared to Percent of Students in the School Scoring Below the National 24th Percentile Score - Schools with ADM between 150 and 450 (14)

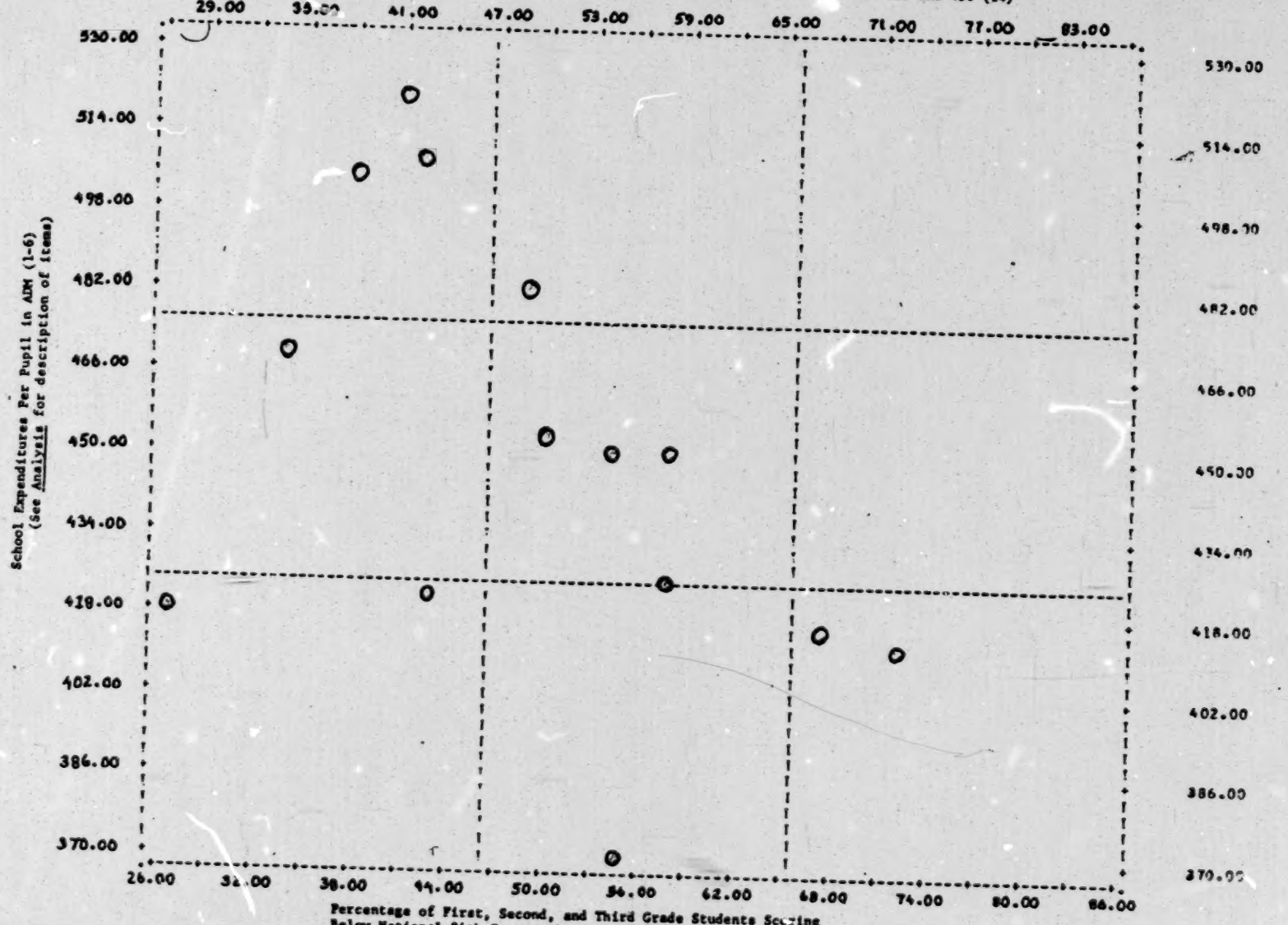

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CHART B-3

Expenditures per Pupil in ADM (1-6) Compared to Percent of Students in the School Scoring Below the National 24th Percentile Score - Schools with ADM between 450 and 600 (7)

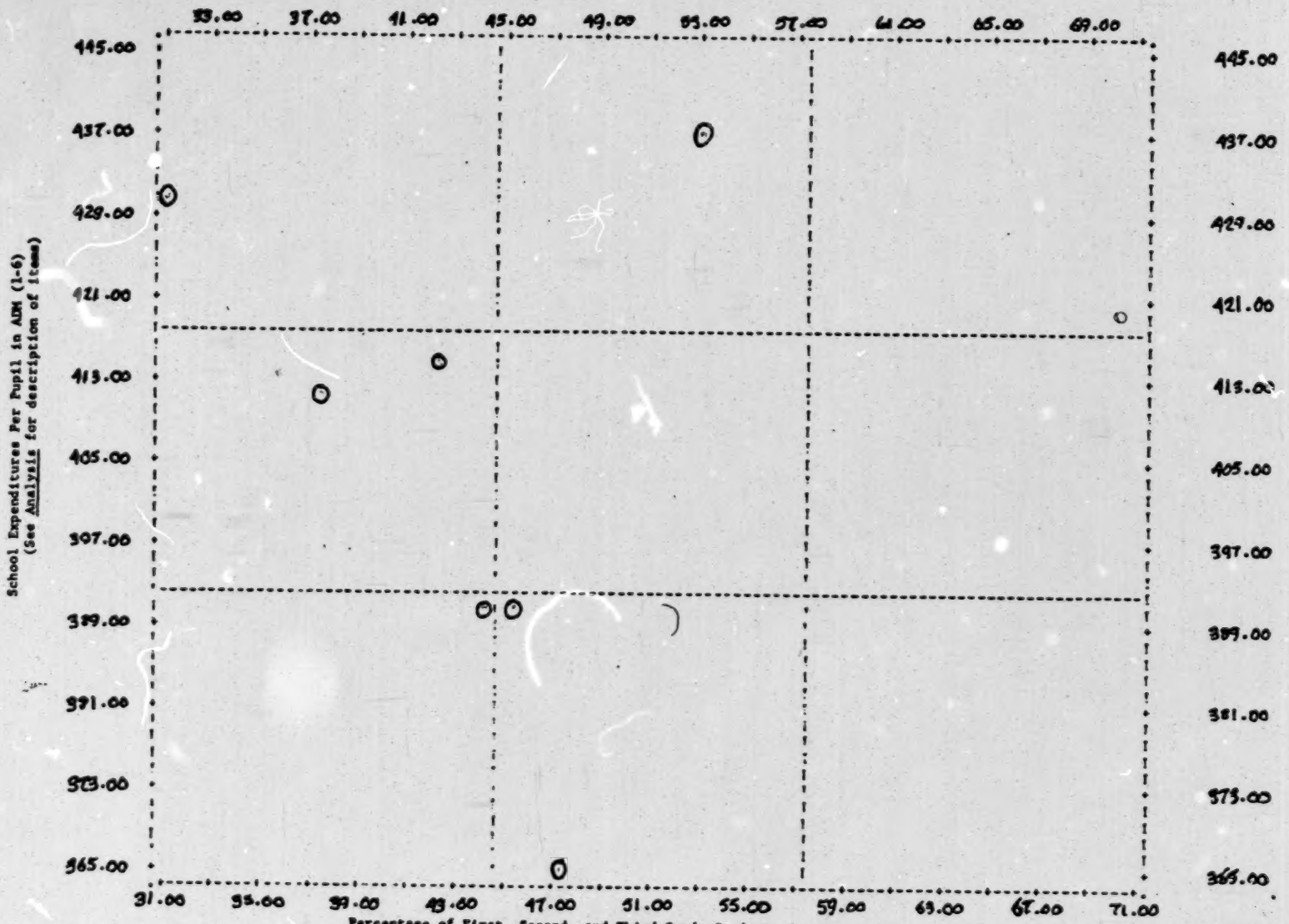

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CHART B-4

Expenditures per Pupil in ADM (1-6) Compared to Percent of Students in the School Scoring Below the National 24th Percentile Score - Schools with ADM above 600 (10)